

**FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ROCKLAND
COUNTY, NY, IN THE BRINKS ROBBERY TRIAL**

HEARING

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE LAW AND
GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.R. 5763

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ROCKLAND COUNTY, NY,
IN THE BRINKS ROBBERY TRIAL

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CONTAINS
'RESISTANCE'
#1

tion. In fact, if I could even point out parenthetically, on one particular instance, we deferred to Federal prosecution. We made a motion to dismiss an indictment against Burns, since we felt that the Federal case was stronger.

The State judge denied the motion to dismiss the indictment. So it's not simply a matter of a State prosecutor, myself, saying yes, we are going to dismiss the charges, in this particular instance. We made a motion to dismiss a particular indictment against Nathaniel Burns, and this was denied by the State judge.

But we had a responsibility, we had a duty. It was never a situation where a demand was made to take over this particular case, and I think we did have an example of working in close cooperation with Federal authorities to the best of our ability.

[See "Affirmation in support of motion to dismiss against Nathaniel Burns," at p. 67.]

Mr. HALL. One final question. As Mr. Kindness pointed out, these amounts are allocated to three counties in the amounts of more or less what he indicated. Have any of these sums been paid to these counties by the State of New York?

Mr. REISMAN. Not by the State of New York, sir. Rockland County has paid all the money. The other counties do not pay any money. They send vouchers to us for their expenses and we pay them.

Mr. HALL. How much has the State of New York been out as of this time?

Mr. REISMAN. According to the Director of the Division of Criminal Justice Services, Lawrence Kurlander, he has told us that the State has spent the equivalent of \$3 million in in-kind services. There was no cash allocation.

Mr. KINDNESS. When he developed his line of questioning, police cars, correction facilities, weapons, detection equipment—

Mr. HALL. That is not involved in this bill?

Mr. REISMAN. No, sir.

Mr. HALL. All right.

Mr. GOLDRICK. Mr. Chairman, if I may, Congressman Gilman has culled through the material that I have brought concerning the material that was circulated throughout the courthouse and other public places urging demonstrations, and so on. I'd just like to submit that.

Mr. HALL. It will be made a part of the record.

[Information to be furnished.]

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

NOVEMBER 2, 1981—BLACK SOLIDARITY DAY

May 19th Communist Organization is participating in this press conference called by the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika to extend our full solidarity to the captured combatants, the Black liberation movement and in particular the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. We are also here to correct the lies and distortions that have appeared in the press concerning our organization.

Since October 20th, the day of the alleged robbery in Nyack, NY, the U.S. Government has engaged in acts of terrorism against the Black liberation struggle, its supporters, the Black community in general. Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata (slave name: Sam Smith), a New Afrikan freedom fighter, was murdered in cold blood by Detective Irwin Jacobson of the New York Police Department. New Afrikan free-

dom fighter Sekou Odinga (slave name: Nathaniel Burns), a long-time leader in the Black liberation struggle, is now in Kings County Hospital because he was tortured by the New York City Police Department—he was beaten, burned with cigars, a gun was held to his head and the trigger pulled when he would not give answers to the cops, and his head was immersed in a flushing toilet. We fully support Comrade Sekou Odinga.

There are four combatants—Samuel Brown, Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin, and David Gilbert—who were captured on October 20th. These comrades have all been long-time activists in the struggles for human rights and self-determination for the Black nation and all oppressed nations. Since 1978, Judy Clark has been a member and public spokesperson for May 19th Communist Organization. They have been beaten, held without bail, and placed in solitary confinement. Their arraignment was held in an armed camp and the public was totally excluded. Samuel Brown has been beaten and denied medical care. Their present conditions include:

23 hours a day solitary confinement in the box.

No visits from friends and supporters.

No contact visits from parents or their children.

No contact with each other even though they are co-defendants.

Denial of access to the lawyer of their choice, Chokwe Lumumba, on the order of the Rockland County District Attorney.

Our organization fully supports the captured combatants and we demand an end to these illegal and punitive conditions.

The events at Nyack have been used to unleash an unprecedented reign of terror against the Black liberation struggle and all progressive movements in this country, in particular the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika and May 19th Communist Organization.

Sister Fulani Sunni-Ali, a committed fighter for the human rights of Black people in this country and Minister of Information of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, was seized in a massive governmental raid on a Mississippi farmhouse by tanks, helicopters, SWAT teams and over 200 armed men. This military assault is part of the government campaign to portray a public organization as terrorist criminals—including the 12 children who live at the farmhouse. The Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika has led the struggle of Black people in this country for human rights, self-determination, land and independence since 1968. We support Sister Fulani. She is innocent of all charges. We demand her immediate release, and we give our unconditional solidarity to the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika.

The sweep has extended to those white anti-imperialist forces who support the Black liberation movement. Eve Rosahn, a member of the Committee for the Suit Against Government Misconduct, is being singled out by the police and FBI for a massive frame-up and attack. She is a public political activist and one of the anti-Springbok 5. She has been a consistent target of the government's counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), and is a plaintiff in *Clark et al v. USA*, a \$100 million civil lawsuit holding Richard Nixon, John Mitchell, other government officials and the FBI responsible for COINTELPRO crimes against anti-imperialist forces. Her work has helped to expose and fight against FBI attacks on the Black liberation struggle, other national liberation movements in this country, and white anti-imperialists.

On October 21 at 11:30 p.m., heavily-armed SWAT teams conducted simultaneous raids on her house and her mother's house. Although she was already out on bail and continuing to lead her normal public life, attending every court appearance, her bail in the Springbok case was raised to \$10,000. When this bail was raised and she was released, she was seized on the night of October 27th by 15 cops armed with shotguns and automatic weapons. She was taken to Nyack where she was arraigned without a lawyer. She is now being held in isolation and with no bail, and is permitted no visitors. This is terrorism and we denounce it. The D.A. and the press have already convicted her of being "Judith Schneider" without one shred of evidence. She is totally innocent and we demand her immediate release.

May 19th Communist Organization, another target of the government's sweep, is named after the birthday of Ho Chi Minh and Malcolm X, two great revolutionary leaders of the world-wide struggle against U.S. imperialism. May 19th Communist Organization is committed to the struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism and to uphold the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations. In particular we support the right of the Black nation to land and independence, the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico, the liberation of Mexicano/Chicano people and sovereignty for Native American nations. There is now a major media campaign to turn May 19th into a "terrorist organization."

We mobilize white working class people to fight organized white supremacy and for the construction of a new society based up human rights, self-determination, the full liberation of women, and the building of socialism. We fully support the right of oppressed nations to wage armed struggle. The state is attacking us because of our principles and program of support for the right of self-determination, support for the waging of armed struggle, and our commitment to actively fight organized white supremacy.

Members of our organization are now being illegally detained at Riker's Island prison for joining in a protest against the racist South African rugby team. This protest was one of hundreds of demonstrations and actions taken around the world to stop this illegal tour, and was totally in line with United Nations resolutions directing the governments and peoples of the world to protest and isolate the illegal racist apartheid regime of South Africa and to support righteous struggles of the people of Namibia and Azania for their liberation. It is the actions of the U.S. government in support of South Africa that violate the law and the principles of the world community. Yet those who demonstrated against the Springboks are still in jail, held on excessive and clearly punitive bail. The Anti-Springbok 5 were initially released on \$1,000 cash bail each. Since the events in Nyack they have been targeted by the state and the press:

After October 20th they were brought back to court on a lesser charge and held on \$10,000 bail each.

When we raised this bail out of the growing public support for their case, we were not allowed to bail them out.

The District Attorney has made the unprecedented demand that we reveal the name of every person who has contributed to the bail fund. This is a blatant attempt to get names for a further fishing expedition by a Grand Jury and to have a chilling effect on support for this case and on political activism of any kind. We will not release these names.

Supporters of the Anti-Springbok 5 have been harrassed, photographed by the police and visited by the FBI; relatives have been approached by the FBI in an effort to intimidate and stop any support from being built. This is all being done on top of the more routine FBI illegalities such as wire-tapping and mail-opening.

Three of the defendants are being held on Riker's Island as Central Monitoring Cases, a special designation reserved for political prisoners, which functionally means: They have absolutely no rights within the prison. They are checked every half hour. They are denied visitation rights. They are denied access to the law library to work on their case. They are refused the right to have a job while in prison. They are commonly referred to by the prison guards as "the BLA girls." Initially, all were held in punitive segregation. They have lost jobs because of FBI visits and phone calls to their employers.

Our office is openly watched by the FBI and the NYPD, and people who come in are harrassed; our members are followed, including to and from the recent funeral for Brother Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata; members' houses are stalked out by police; neighbors and building superintendents at our homes have been visited by the FBI.

We call on all progressive people to support the people currently in prison, to take a stand against this repression, and to refuse to be intimidated. As May 19th Communist Organization, we are committed to implementing our program, to building a revolutionary movement that is part of the world-wide struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism. These past ten days have strengthened our resolve to fight alongside the Black Liberation struggle, the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the struggle of Native American nations for sovereignty, the Mexican-Chicano people for liberation, and with oppressed peoples around the world. If we fight, we will win.

Let our motto be...

RESISTANCE

-HENRY HIGHLAND GARNETT

Newsletter of the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters
No. 1 January 1982

FREEDOM FIGHTERS ON HUNGER STRIKE-- DEMAND MEDICAL CARE FOR SOLOMON BROWN

Since October 20th when Solomon Brown was captured in Nyack, N.Y. he has been systematically and repeatedly tortured by the Rockland County Police, the FBI, New York State Troopers, and prison guards and officials.

Every time he demanded an end to the torture and decent medical care, which is his legal and human right, he was beaten again. After finally receiving a neck brace, he was lifted by the brace itself and hurled across a room.

Now, nearly three months after his capture, Solomon has still received no medical care, no pain killing medication and his life is in grave danger.

Due to the dire nature of Solomon's medical situation three of the captured freedom fighters Judy Clark, Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert have initiated a hunger strike in solidarity with Solomon and have issued the following statement:

"Of grave concern to all progressive people and human rights activists is the current life threatening crisis facing Solomon Brown -- Brother Sol -- Black Liberation

Army Prisoner of War captured and tortured following the October 20th attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, N.Y. During prolonged torture sessions, following his capture, Solomon Brown suffered a hair-line fracture of one of his vertebrae which is now about to sever his spinal cord. His condition is becoming grave because he's being refused hospitalization and any and all proper medical care. He has been drugged to hide his condition as part of a strategy designed to break or kill this courageous freedom fighter. In the past week, this set-up on the part of the authorities on Solomon Brown has been further revealed by the refusal to allow attorney Chokwe Lumumba to visit him at Otisville Federal Correctional Institution and the transfer of David Gilbert, Solomon's co-defendant and the only person in the prison to speak out on the real situation.

Solomon Brown and the other Black freedom fighters -- Sekou Odinga and Abdul Majid -- who've also been captured and tortured in the wave of terror against the Black Liberation Struggle -- must be supported by all freedom loving people. Because of this crisis, we

On January 9, New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Abdul Majid (slave name: Anthony LaBorde) was captured by Philadelphia police. He was so badly beaten after his arrest that he needed 40 stitches in his scalp and could not stand up in court. Abdul Majid was immediately extradited to New York, where he appeared in a Queens courthouse ringed with riot police. Abdul is charged with the April shooting of New York policemen Rainey and Scaramella, and with participating in the attempted Brinks expropriation.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters has been formed to build political/legal support for all those captured or under attack by the u.s. government as a result of the attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, New York.

This includes the freedom fighters captured and charged by the u.s. government with the action itself -- Brother Sol, Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, and Sekou Odinga. It includes Eve Rosahn, unjustly charged with aiding the expropriation and held as a political prisoner because of her public support for the Black Liberation Struggle and anti-imperialist struggle. It includes all those who refuse to collaborate with the Grand Jury that the u.s. government is using to attack anti-imperialist organizations and individuals, Fulani Sunni Ali, Jerri Gaines and Yassmin Fula.

The attempted Brinks expropriation carried out by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force is part of the developing struggle against imperialism, white supremacy and fascism in the U.S. The Black Liberation Army said: "A racist genocidal war being waged against Black people necessitated a revolutionary response." The struggle by Black people in Amerika for human rights, dignity and self-determination, for land and independence, will only be won through national liberation.

The struggle for national liberation is recognized as an inalienable right at the international level, and supported by peace and freedom loving people the world over. It is an inalienable right that must be carried out by every possible means.

It is from these same conditions that the Revolutionary Army Task Force (RATF), under the direction of the Black Liberation Army, came forward. We welcome the formation

of this Task Force because it indicates that white anti-imperialists committed to the defeat of this system and all that it represents, from the rise of the KKK to killer cops to the consolidation of the repressive state apparatus, will wage armed struggle in solidarity with Black liberation and struggle at the highest level against the common enemy that exploits and oppresses the white working class as well.

We in the Coalition believe that the events in Nyack, NY, and the current wave of repression did not begin on October 20, 1981. We believe that the war in Amerika being waged by the u.s. government against the oppressed people has been fascist in character, for a long time. Those who lead the resistance to the terrorism of u.s. imperialism are not terrorists or criminals.

We are committed to fighting the terrorism of 35 Black children murdered in Atlanta, the terrorism of killer cops that murder young Third World people with impunity, the terrorism that creates apartheid through gentrification and destroys the very fabric of life. This is the real terrorism. The u.s. must qualitatively increase the exploitation and oppression of the internal colonies, the Black Nation, occupied Mexico, and the Native American peoples, and the white working class. To implement fascism the u.s. must organize a base of support especially among white people based on white supremacy and patriotic fervor. This fascist base will become allies of the government and help carry out its internal and external program. This means WAR.

In order for imperialist war to be fought, fascism must be built. A key part of the u.s. program for building fascism is to suppress and destroy all revolutionary forces and organizations that lead the resistance.

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STOP THE TORTURE AND ISOLATION OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

We are writing this letter to join with progressive forces in demanding an end to the continued fascist conditions of torture and threat that confront our Black comrades Sekou Odinga and Solomon Brown, imprisoned in the prison unit of Kings County Hospital and Otisville Federal Correctional Institution respectively. Faced with intensified struggles for human rights and self-determination of oppressed peoples within the u.s. and Puerto Rico, u.s. imperialism is escalating its use of torture and denial of medical care as part of its arsenal of counterinsurgency warfare.

Solomon was arrested with us on October 20th, after an attempted expropriation of a Brinks truck. He was immediately separated from us. That day, and for several days running, he was continuously beaten, tortured and interrogated, at first while in police custody and then after being brought to Rockland County Jail. For days, each time he was taken from his cell to be seen by doctors, he was beaten on the way there and on the way back. The prison doctors collaborated in this, by disregarding his injuries and denying him any medical care. When he was brought to court for a preliminary hearing on October 23rd, Judge Lewis refused to order medical treatment for him, despite the fact that he was by then so badly hurt that he could not stand or sit up. While they did not succeed in breaking Solomon's political stand, the police did seriously fracture his neck. After 2 1/2 months of claiming he had no injuries, the authorities now admit that his neck fracture is so serious that it is putting pressure on his spinal chord. They now fear that if he is jolted while being moved, he could die. Yet when he was brought to court last month

he was manhandled and transported with a machine gun held to his head. He could easily have been killed. Solomon must be immediately transferred to a hospital where he can receive proper medical care.

Sekou Odinga, a long-time activist and freedom fighter in the Black liberation struggle, was captured after an assault by FBI a and NYC police in which Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata was murdered while surrendering. Sekou was tortured for several days. He was beaten and burned all over his body with cigars; a gun was held to his head and dry-fired several times; and his head was immersed into a flushing toilet. Their goal of breaking Sekou's resistance and firm commitment to the liberation of his people was completely unsuccessful. They did succeed in seriously hurting him. His pancreas was destroyed as a result of the beatings and he must now be fed intravenously. He is being denied adequate medical treatment and his judge denied him the right to see his own doctor. He must be kept on a special machine as part of his minimal treatment. Yet he was taken off the machine to be taken to court and his condition worsened as a result. This denial of medical treatment for both Solomon and Sekou is nothing less than the continuation of torture. In addition, they both face continued physical threat.

This is the sharpest expression of the state's strategy to maintain all of the freedom fighters captured after Nyack in intolerable conditions of captivity, to try to break our will and commitment to the struggle. We have been kept in solitary confinement, in our cells 23 hours a day. We are not allowed to talk to each other or any of the other prisoners. We have not yet been able to all meet together as

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RICO GRAND JURY: TOOL OF FASCISM

The U.S. government is using the attempted expropriation on October 20th to convene a grand jury to attack public organizations and activists who support the Black liberation struggle and the building of the Black Liberation Army. The government, unable to infiltrate and destroy the armed clandestine movements directly, is targeting these organizations in an effort to silence them and stop the building of mass support for the development of revolutionary armed struggle in the U.S. The grand jury is a tool of fascist repression designed to imprison activists without a trial and criminalize legal political activity.

The grand jury started after Nyack is using the "Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organizations Act" to justify its current witchhunt. Enacted in 1970 as part of the Organized Crime Control Act, the specific purpose of RICO was to prevent organized crime from taking over legitimate businesses using monies obtained through racketeering (loan-sharking, drugs, etc.). The legislation gave the Federal prosecutors broad powers because anyone associated with any enterprise conducting such racketeering activities was subject to arrest and imprisonment.

Now, as part of their counter-insurgency strategy against anti-imperialist movements, the government is utilizing RICO against political organizations. The broadness of RICO allows the government to conduct a wholesale investigation into organizations and individuals, including their political beliefs, associations, membership, financial supporters, etc. Not even the barest justification need be put forward for the inquisition. The use of RICO is nothing more than an attempt to intern activists and to further the government's attempts to criminalize

revolutionary struggles. Under RICO, any member of an organization can be prosecuted for anything the government claims any other member did.

Already, at least 4 subpoenas have been served. Yassmin Fula, a long time Black activist, is incarcerated at the Metropolitan Correctional Center for her refusal to collaborate. Fulani Sunni-Ali, Chairperson of the People's Center Council of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, was jailed for contempt, and then released, because she had been denied her attorney of choice, Chokwe Lumumba of the Provisional Government of the RNA. (Fulani had been held in solitary confinement earlier on a Federal complaint charging her with conspiracy in connection with the October 20th action, but all charges were dropped when it was shown that she was in New Orleans at the time.) In addition, Jerri Gaines, a Black woman who had been in the same Gallman, Mississippi, farmhouse when Fulani was arrested, has been subpoenaed, as well as Eve Rosahn. (See article.) Already facing frame-up charges in the Brinks expropriation, Eve was subpoenaed to the grand jury and, in secret proceedings, held in contempt without her lawyer. Eve has since been released on bail pending appeal.

All of these courageous comrades have maintained a firm stance of non-collaboration. This is the only strategy that has defeated grand jury repression, and has successfully thwarted numerous government investigations over the past several years into the Puerto Rican independence movement, the anti-war movement, the Black liberation movement and the women's movement. Currently, Puerto Rican independentista Carlos Noya (member of the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena [LSP])

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SMASH COINTELPRO: KEEP EVE ROSAHN FREE!

On December 31, the U.S. government's current repressive onslaught suffered a defeat with the release of Eve Rosahn on bail pending appeal of her contempt of a Grand Jury. Her release is a victory in the fight for the right of political activists to build solidarity with the Black Liberation Struggle. It exposes that the government's campaign to brand freedom fighters and anti-imperialist activists as "terrorists" is vulnerable, and shows how to fight it effectively.

Eve Rosahn has a 13 year history of support for the Black Liberation Struggle. She has worked to build the anti-imperialist women's movement. For the past 3 1/2 years, she has fought COINTELPRO as a member of the Committee for the Suit Against Government Misconduct, and a plaintiff in *Clark et al. v. USA*, the \$100 million law suit holding Nixon, the FBI and others responsible for this counterinsurgency program. She is one of the Anti-Springbok 5, five anti-imperialists who were arrested at a September 26 demonstration against the Springboks, the racist South African rugby team. After the October 20th attempted expropriation, Eve was targeted by the government offensive against the Black Liberation Struggle and its supporters. She was arrested on totally false charges of "facilitation", held for two months in solitary and then subpoenaed to the Grand Jury.

The state has always known that Eve is innocent. The Rockland County D.A. was forced in court to reveal that there is literally NO EVIDENCE against her. She is being used as an example of what the government will do to activists who support the right of oppressed peoples to wage war for liberation and land. Her case is a testing ground for the consolidation of a fascist society in which public political work is made illegal. The gov-

ernment is sounding out the resistance to the criminalization of the entire anti-imperialist movement.

In Eve's words, "The Grand Jury attack, the charges against me in Rockland County, my portrayal as a 'terrorist' have one purpose and one purpose only: to intimidate progressive people away from doing political work in support of Black liberation, of oppressed peoples fighting for liberation all around the world; and, in particular, to frighten those who support their right to wage armed struggle for liberation."

But the government was unable to break her, just as they have been unable to break any of the freedom fighters being held in the Nyack

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WOMEN FIGHT FASCISM STOP THE FRAME-UP OF EVE ROSAHN

On New Year's Eve the anti-imperialist movement won an important political victory in forcing the release of anti-imperialist activist and grand jury resister Eve Rosahn.

On Friday, January 29, there will be a forum to support Eve and discuss the larger issues surrounding her case: "WOMEN: FIGHT FASCISM! STOP THE FRAME-UP OF EVE ROSAHN!"

We need to build a movement that fights for a principled stand of non-collaboration out of a recognition that the imperialist state is the enemy of women. We are building a movement that protects and defends freedom fighters, prisoners of war and political prisoners.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29th * 7:30 PM
UKRAINIAN NATIONAL HOME
2nd Avenue & East 9th St.

STOP THE TORTURE

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co-defendants. Nor are we able to have any visitors beyond our immediate families. We are denied contact with our children and our attorneys have been harassed. This has been coupled with broadside attacks on organizations in the Black Liberation Movement and anti-imperialist struggle, including armed police attacks, FBI harassment and grand jury witchhunt. All of this is being orchestrated by the highest levels of government and counter-insurgency apparatus and is being implemented by the FBI, local police, the media, prison administration and the courts.

Progressive forces must recognize that if these policies are allowed to be implemented unchallenged, the u.s. government will have made a qualitative advance in consolidating fascist rule. This is about legitimizing their use of wartime techniques to combat the struggles of Black and other Third World peoples in this country for human rights and self-determination. Torture is the backbone of every military fascist dictatorship in the world -- from El Salvador to South Africa. Thousands of people have protested the torture of political prisoners and captured freedom fighters in El Salvador. Now we must take up that fight here. This is not the first time a Black

freedom fighter has been tortured by the FBI and local police. But now, people must recognize the implications of the u.s. government's ability to make torture of captured Black freedom fighters a part of their routine procedure. The official use of torture is the counterpart to the government-sponsored white supremacist terror being launched against Black people today. People must fight for the right of oppressed peoples to fight for human rights and liberation.

We demand that Solomon Brown and Sekou Odinga be given full and adequate medical treatment, and be allowed access to the doctors of their choice as insurance of that. Furthermore, we demand guarantees for their safety and the end to all physical threats and attacks. And we demand to know who gave the orders for torture and who carried it out. We demand an end to isolation and our right to contact visits with our children and our comrades. These demands are based in the basic rights accorded all political prisoners and prisoners of war under International law. The u.s. government must be forced to abide by International law.

Judy Clark
Kathy Boudin
David Gilbert

RICO GRAND JURY --

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and Norberto Cintron are jailed at the Metropolitan Correctional Center. They continue to refuse to cooperate with a grand jury in Puerto Rico investigating the assassination of two naval personnel at Sabana Seca (see p. 10) in 1979, a retaliatory action taken by forces in the armed clandestine movement in answer to the u.s. government's murder of Puerto Rican revolutionary Angel Rodriguez Cristobal in a Tallahassee

prison that year. There continue to be victories won in the current period, with the government's inability to jail other activists from the Puerto Rican and Chicano-Mexicano movements -- Julio Rosado, Ricardo Romero, Steven Guerra, Maria Cueto and Andres Rosado (see p. 10). And both Fulani's and Eve's winning of their release on bail pending an appeal of their contempt is only the result of their stance of non-collaboration, and the growth of a strong movement of resistance against the government's campaign.

HUNGER STRIKE

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(Judy Clark, David Gilbert and Kathy Boudin, freedom fighters and political prisoners also captured in Nyack) demand that Judge Miller, D.A. Kenneth Gribetz and Otisville Warden Michael Quinlan:

- (1) Safely transport Solomon Brown to a hospital. If jolted or beaten, Solomon Brown could lose his life. We hold all of them responsible for his safety.
- (2) Provide proper medical care to Solomon Brown.
- (3) Allow him access to his own physicians and the attorney of his choice.

Should these demands remain unmet as of Monday, January 11, we will begin a hunger strike. We urge all concerned people to call or send telegrams to the following:

Judge Miller D.A. Kenneth Gribetz
914-425-5338 914-425-5001

Otisville Warden Michael Quinlan
914-386-5855

The show of concern from large numbers of people could literally make the difference between life and death for Solomon Brown.

We urge all people to unite with us in this effort to stop the use of torture against New Afrikan Freedom Fighters.

Judy Clark
Kathy Boudin
David Gilbert

Addresses
Judge Miller
Rockland County Courthouse
New City, N.Y.

D.A. Kenneth Gribetz
Rockland County Office Building
New City, N.Y.

Warden Michael Quinlan
Otisville F.C.I.
P.O. Box 1000
Otisville, N.Y. 10963

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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The u.s. government is trying to use the attempted Brinks expropriation to consolidate its repressive apparatus at every level. Torture techniques taught by the CIA to every fascist dictatorship in the world have been brought home. The torture of Sekou Odinga and Brother Sol are among the first documented case of torture in the U.S. This must be stopped now.

In the same way, everyone imprisoned as a result of this case has been placed automatically in punitive segregation and stripped of all "rights" that even nominally exist inside u.s. prisons. We oppose these conditions and struggle to guarantee the survival of all political prisoners and prisoners of war held by the u.s. government.

The Grand Jury is a tool of political repression used by the u.s. government. Since 1976, it has been used against the Puerto Rican and Chicano-Mexicano liberation struggles; in a futile attempt to stop the armed clandestine movement and to imprison revolutionaries who support the armed struggle. In this case the FBI and the Justice Department are utilizing "racketeering" laws in conjunction with the Grand Jury to attempt to destroy entire public organizations and to place individuals who refuse to collaborate in jail for contempt. As revolutionary struggles grow, these laws and methods will be increasingly used against any public organization or individual that supports armed struggle -- or, potentially, any resistance against the state. The Grand Jury and these "new" laws must be opposed, and the principled and progressive stance of total non-collaboration upheld.

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case, or any of the other Grand Jury resisters. In spite of her arrest in a police terror raid by a 15-member SWAT team; in spite of the fact that she has been convicted in the press, held on \$250,000 ransom and for 2 months in solitary confinement, her stance has remained one of absolute non-collaboration with the state. In fighting for these principles as an anti-imperialist activist and supporter of the Black Liberation Struggle, Eve Rosahn's example is one that all people struggling for human rights and against imperialism in this country must emulate. And it is this stance, collectively embraced by our movement, that is crucial to win

victories in overturning the grand juries and the overall current reign of terror.

That is why every progressive person needs to oppose the government's attacks on Eve Rosahn. A two-month offensive won Eve's release by exposing the political nature of the frame-up and grand jury, and the state was forced to retreat. Now, progressive people's participation in joining that continuing offensive -- to drop the charges and stop the grand jury -- is a critical part of protecting and defending the right of political people to resist and the right of an anti-imperialist movement to be built.

After being targeted in a massive frame-up in relation to the Rockland case, Eve Rosahn was targeted by the RICO Grand Jury. (See article, p. 5). She was subpoenaed on November 6, and forced to appear the following Monday, having been prevented from seeing an attorney. U.S. Attorney John Martin intervened -- illegally -- in the Grand Jury proceedings because of "security" reasons. After she refused to collaborate with their fishing expedition, in a secret hearing, with her mother and supporters barred from the courtroom, she was held in contempt, and sentenced to 6 months, or the life of the Grand Jury.

The following are excerpted statements from Eve's statement to the press, upon her release from Metropolitan Correctional Center, on bail pending appeal of her grand jury contempt for refusing to collaborate:

"The Grand Jury is a nakedly political weapon, used to jail public activists who are accused of no crime, for refusing to cooperate with a government witch hunt..... I refused to cooperate, and will continue to refuse to help the government trample on my constitutional and human rights."

"Many people's eyes have been opened by the blatant attacks on me. They should look with these new understandings at the government's entire "anti-terrorist" campaign. Look at why the combatants captured in Nyack continue to be held in solitary confinement, forbidden even to see their co-defendants. Why was Black revolutionary freedom fighter Sekou Odinga shown on t.v. walking into a Queens police station -- and is now hospitalized with severe internal injuries from police torture. Why Solomon Brown, arrested in Nyack, was denied medical care for two months, after being beaten almost to death by police. Prison doctors now say that Brother Sol's condition is so serious that if he is "jolted" he could die. Why the U.S. government launched a full-scale military assault on Fulani Sunai-Ali and 12 children. Why New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata was shot in the back of the head by New York City policemen. Look at that, and ask who the real "terrorists" are."

SOLIDARITY MESSAGE FROM THE ELEVEN PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

Reprinted from Libertad
Newsletter of the National Committee
to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners
of War/December, 1981

Companeros, Brothers and Sisters in the struggle,

We, the eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, extend to you today our warmest revolutionary embraces and greetings. We salute with the fervor of armed struggle comrades Judy Clark, Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, and Samuel Brown. These valiant brothers and sisters captured by our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, have once again reaffirmed their commitment to the struggle.

The enemy has finally realized that the struggle against exploitation is a single struggle. The Black Liberation Army, B.L.A., the Irish Republican Army, I.R.A., the Palestine Liberation Organization, P.L.O., the Red Brigades, and the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional, F.A.L.N., and all other revolutionary organizations are one and the same. We have the same objective: to stamp out imperialism, and we are bound together by the only legitimate bond -- ideology, and method of struggle -- armed struggle.

The political climate in the U.S. is rapidly becoming one of fascism. No longer can it be said that fascism is around the corner. Brothers and sisters, it is here amongst us on a daily basis and heightening at an accelerated pace. Fascism is not an accidental aspect of capitalism. It is an on-going worldwide conflict between the positive forces of liberation, peace, and socialism, and the negative opposing forces of imperialism, exploitation and genocide, which is reaching its point of culmination. In order to maintain their hegemony and economic controls, the capitalists are exhibiting their fear of powerlessness by creating

police states, and militarily invading the underdeveloped countries of the third world.

Under the guise of stamping out terrorism, a war of aggression is being launched. The universities in the United States and Puerto Rico are being militarized as part of their campaign of war preparation. An all-out propaganda blitz is being conducted in order to justify the billions of dollars in expenditures used against oppressed peoples of the world. We are constantly barraged with exorbitant military budgets, to date 8 million dollars have been allocated for military hardware. All of this to protect "democracy" from the threat of communism. When in reality the state is merely creating cover-ups for the inflation, over-production, and unemployment that the working class must live with, because this country chooses to fortify itself militarily at the expense of the lives of the working people.

It is also no accident that grand juries are being convened in New York and Puerto Rico, and that their targets are the most progressive sectors of the independence organizations.

With the recent capture of our beloved comrades, and the imprisonment of the eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, our enemy wants to give the impression that they have smashed the revolutionary element in their midst, and that our liberation movement has been paralyzed. Once again we must remind them that revolutionaries are created by conditions and shaped by people's oppression.

There is no question that the fear this state has of national liberation has caused it to overly expand the scope of their intelligence

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forces. They have created special police squads, citizen informant groups, the U.S. Task Force on Terrorism, etc., etc. They have done this never realizing that the necessity to be free overpowers all obstacles. Even with all their sophisticated technology, the F.A.L.N., O.V.R.P., C.R.P., Macheteros (P.R.T.P.-E.P.B.) and the F.A.R.P. have caused millions and millions of dollars in damages to the state and have successfully carried out expropriations and infiltrated their intelligence apparatus.

This is only the beginning, because our revolutionary movement is still in its incipient stages. The responsibility for the future rests on the shoulders of each and every one of us. Everyone has a role to play in the struggle for independence and socialism. We must insure that comrades such as Assata Shakur and William Morales remain free. We must forge together in our struggle for sovereignty and the self-emancipation of the proletariat. As Marx said, "We must make the workmen of different countries not only feel, but act as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation."

In closing, we would like to render a final tribute to our dear comrade, Brother Mtavari Shabaka Sundiata, who has given his life for the struggle. His spirit lives forever in us, and every time the enemy is attacked, Brother Sundiata's cry of victory will be heard. You have given us strength, you have given us camaraderie. We offer you our respect and love.

LONG LIVE A FREE AND SOCIALIST PUERTO RICO!

LONG LIVE THIRD WORLD UNITY!

FROM ZIMBABWE, PUERTO RICO, MEXICO TO THE U.S.A., ARMED STRUGGLE WILL LEAD THE WAY

Dylcia Pagan Morales/Carmen Valentin for the Eleven Puerto Rican Prisoners of War

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT FIGHTS GRAND JURY SUBPOENAS

On January 6, a major victory against the grand jury was won. The U.S. government had planned to jail 5 activists and leaders of the public revolutionary movement for independence and socialism for Puerto Rico and for the socialist re-unification of Mexico (4 of the 5 are members of the M.L.N. - Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional). This plan was blocked by the heightening struggle in Puerto Rico and in the U.S.

On December 16, 1981, at the time of the second grand jury appearance, over 5,000 people demonstrated in 4 cities in Puerto Rico, in Mexico, in Canada and in 6 cities in the U.S. In Juarez, Mexico, 3,000 people militantly demonstrated in front of the American consulate and burned an American flag. Thousands of people

have written outraged letters to the court demanding an end to the political use of the grand jury. The Episcopal Church and the National Council of Churches intervened in the December 16th court proceedings and stated their opposition to the jailing of political activists.

On January 6, the judge and the U.S. attorney stated that the matter of the Puerto Rican grand jury had been taken out of their hands and that the decision will be made by the Justice Department in Washington

It is clear that the level of struggle and resistance has created havoc for the U.S. government's plan of containment. Continuing resistance and protest will prevent the U.S. from jailing these leaders and activists when they again must appear in court sometime in late January.

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

The Coalition unites around the following principles:

-- We recognize that the Black Nation is waging a national liberation struggle for land and independence. We recognize that the Black Liberation Army is an integral part of the Black national liberation struggle, and its armed component. We support the right of Black people to wage armed struggle to end their colonial status. We support the BLA.

-- The U.S. government is an illegitimate government that has no jurisdiction over the colonized Black Nation, its liberation forces, or allies who are participating in a just war for national liberation. We oppose the use of counterintelligence, torture and grand juries by the U.S. government.

-- We support all prisoners of war who are captured in the course of waging revolutionary armed struggle against U.S. imperialism and we support all political prisoners who are imprisoned and attacked because of their stance in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

-- We welcome the formation of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, which includes white revolutionary anti-imperialists working under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army. By their actions, they have shown the highest form of solidarity and internationalism. It is the role of progressive, anti-imperialist white people to support and defend freedom fighters and build a fighting movement under the leadership of the national liberation struggles.

-- The attempted expropriation on October 20th in Nyack, New York, by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force was a revolutionary act. Resistance to colonialism and fascism is the right of all oppressed people and never premature. The combatants are freedom fighters, not terrorists. We offer them our unconditional support.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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The U.S. has always attempted to criminalize the revolutionary forces, to call them terrorists. We who are progressive, radical, or anti-imperialist white people can do nothing less than recognize that these comrades in the BLA and the RATF are struggling against a calculated war being waged from the highest levels of the U.S. government. To collaborate with this war in any way only gives support to the white supremacist and fascist elements in this country that would crush any and all existing dissent. Defending these freedom fighters is part of building solidarity with the

Black Nation's struggle for land and independence and part of fighting the growth of fascism in the U.S.

"Let our motto be Resistance."

-- Henry Highland Garnett

*Note: The title of the newsletter of the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters is taken from the quotation, "Let your motto be resistance," by Henry Highland Garnett, Black revolutionary nationalist leader of the abolition movement.

••UPDATES••

On January 7, 1982, in a clear attempt to further violate the rights of all the freedom fighters captured in connection with the RATF. Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert were all transferred to Woodburne State Correctional Facility, a New York state men's prison. They were transferred in the middle of the night, only hours before Judge Duffy released his decision declaring their conditions of confinement illegal.

A Federal writ was filed against the Warden of the Metropolitan Correctional Center, where Judith Clark and Kathy Boudin were being held. The suit challenged their being held in punitive segregation and the denial of contact visits with their children.

Judge Duffy ordered the prison to release Judith Clark and Kathy Boudin into the general population at MCC and permitted them contact with their children. He found that the government had acted unconstitutionally and with punitive intent in their treatment of the women.

Lawyers are now planning to go back to court to demand that Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert be brought to MCC and put in general population.

The U.S. government's attacks against Fulani Sunni-Ali continue as she fights their attempts to re-imprison her for her refusal to cooperate with the Federal grand jury. Through a massive struggle for Fulani's freedom waged by many people and organizations in the Black community, the Black liberation movement and white anti-imperialist movement, the government was forced to admit that Fulani was totally innocent of the charges brought against her in connection with the Brinks case. She was then imprisoned for refusing to collaborate with the grand jury -- to which she was subpoenaed solely because she is a long-time activist and leader in the revolutionary Black nationalist struggle for land and independence.

One of the most blatant examples of the government's attacks is that the government refused to permit her attorney, Chokwe Lumumba (Midwest Regional Vice President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika), to represent her. In a continuing effort to attack the RNA, Fulani was again subpoenaed to the grand jury, along with Jerri Gaines (who had been present at the Mississippi farmhouse when Fulani was first arrested), and they are presently fighting the subpoenas.

WRITE TO THE COMRADES

We urge people to write to the imprisoned comrades and combatants. Mail is a concrete expression of support for these people, and gives them some leverage in dealing with the prison authorities. Writing to people cuts through some of the isolation of being held in seclusion, and it is a major way of insuring that these heroic political prisoners and prisoners of war can continue to participate in and provide leadership to the political struggles and the work.

JUDITH CLARK

DAVID GILBERT

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Pouch 1
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Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters • Box 254 • Stuyvesant Station • New York, NY 10009

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters has been formed to build political-legal support for all those captured or under attack by the U.S. government as a result of the attempted Brinks expropriation in Nyack, New York.

This includes the freedom fighters captured and charged by the U.S. government with the action itself: Brother Sol, Judith Clark, Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, Sekou Odinga * * *. It includes Eve Rosahn, unjustly charged with aiding the expropriation and held as a political prisoner because of her public political support for the Black Liberation Army and anti-imperialist struggle. It includes all those who refuse to collaborate with the Grand Jury that the U.S. government is using to attack anti-imperialist organizations and individual, Fulani Sunni-Ali, Jerri Gaines and Yassmin Fula.

The attempted Brinks expropriation carried out by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force is part of the developing struggle against imperialism, white supremacy and fascism in the U.S. The Black Liberation Army said: "a racist genocidal war being waged against Black people necessitated a revolutionary response." They have said that "all throughout the history of resistance, freedom fighters have come forward to stop the flow of racist repression." The struggle by Black people in Amerika for human rights, dignity and self-determination; for land and independence will only be won through national liberation.

This is the decisive response to 400 years of colonization, slavery and attempted cultural and political genocide. Looking at history, and at the current conditions makes it clear that the U.S. imperialist system will never "give" any oppressed people human rights or independence. Rather it attempts to repress and suppress all progressive and revolutionary efforts to win freedom. This is why the struggle for national liberation is recognized as an inalienable right at the international level, and supported by peace and freedom loving people the world over. It is an inalienable right that must be carried out by every possible means.

It is from these same conditions that the Revolutionary Armed Task Force (RATF), under the direction of the Black Liberation Army, came forward. We welcome the formation of this task force because it indicates that white anti-imperialists committed to the defeat of this system and all that it represents—from the rise of the KKK to killer cops to the consolidation of the repressive state apparatus—will wage armed struggle in solidarity with Black liberation and struggle at the highest level against the U.S. imperialist state that exploits and oppresses the white working class as well.

This development is not outside the history of struggle in this country. The nationally oppressed people in the U.S. have always led the struggle against the system and in their wake, other movements developed that have won significant change in Amerika. The armed resistance to the slave system by Black people in the struggle against slavery, brought forth the abolitionists, who together forged an underground railroad. This is one example of the historical struggle for Black liberation and concrete political and material support from white people.

The civil rights movement, the national democratic struggle of Black people for human rights and self-determination in the 1950's and 60's spread like wildfire and heralded a generation of resistance that exposed the true nature of the "Great Society." These struggles occurred as the U.S., then the dominant power in the world, was being attacked from every corner of the globe and defeated by the Vietnamese people in their struggle to regain control of their occupied land. The explosion of the National liberation movements in the Third World proved that the U.S. could not continue to oppress whole nations in Africa, Asia or Latin America. The Black Liberation Struggle, the Independence struggles of the Puerto Rican people, the struggle for Native American sovereignty, and the struggle for the liberation of the Chicano/Mexicano people, and the anti-imperialist struggle of a significant number of white people made it impossible for the U.S. government to fight on all these fronts at the same time. The victory of Vietnam against U.S. imperialism was decisive. It changed the balance of power worldwide in favor of liberation forces and crippled the U.S. system forever.

How does this relate to the freedom fighters captured on October 20th in Nyack, New York?

These comrades are rooted in that history. They are all dedicated to liberation. They are examples of people committed to fighting in solidarity with the Black liberation struggle and against the drive of the U.S. toward fascism at the highest level. As the BLA communique issued in November 1981 states: "... these captured comrades are heroes struggling against racism, fascism and imperialism."

We in the Coalition believe that the events in Nyack, N.Y. and the current wave of repression did not begin on October 20th, 1981. We believe that the war in Amerika being waged by the U.S. government against the oppressed people has been fascist in character, for a long time. It is not those who lead the resistance to the terrorism of U.S. imperialism who are the terrorists, or criminals.

We are committed to fighting the terrorism of 35 Black children murdered in Atlanta, the terrorism of killer cops that murder young Third World people with impunity, the terrorism that creates apartheid through gentrification and destroys the very fabric of life. This is the real terrorism. The U.S., if it is to maintain its position in the world, needs a new lease on life. It must qualitatively increase the exploitation and oppression of the internal colonies, the Black nation, occupied Mexico, and the Native American nations, and the white working class. To implement fascism the U.S. must organize a base of support especially among white people based on white supremacy and patriotic fervor. This fascist base will become allies of the government and help carry out its internal and external program. This means war.

In order for the imperialist war to be fought, fascism must be built. A key part of the U.S. program for building fascism is to suppress and destroy all revolutionary forces and organizations that lead the resistance.

The U.S. government is trying to use the attempted Brinks expropriation to consolidate its repressive apparatus at every level. Torture techniques taught by the CIA to every fascist dictatorship in the world have been brought home. Sekou Odinga and Brother Sol, two of the captured Black Freedom Fighters, have been systematically tortured by the FBI and local police in an effort to extract information. This goes beyond the beatings and brutality for which the police are infamous. They are among the first documented cases of torture in the U.S. This must be stopped NOW.

In the same way, everyone imprisoned as a result of this case has been automatically placed in punitive segregation and stripped of all "rights" that even nominally exist inside U.S. prisons. These comrades are held in isolation, not allowed visits from their friends and supporters, and refused even visits with their children. We oppose these conditions and struggle to guarantee the survival of all political prisoners and prisoners of war held by the U.S. government.

The Grand Jury is a tool of political repression used by the U.S. government. Since 1976, it has been used against the Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mexicano liberation struggles, in a futile attempt to stop the armed clandestine movement and to imprison revolutionaries who support the armed struggle. In this case the FBI and the Justice Department are utilizing "racketeering" laws in conjunction with the Grand Jury to attempt to destroy entire public organizations and to place individuals who refuse to collaborate with the Grand Jury in jail for contempt. Under these "RICO" laws, all members of an organization can be indicted for the alleged "crimes" of any one member.

As revolutionary struggles grow, these laws and methods will be increasingly used against any public organization or individual that supports armed struggle—or, potentially, any resistance against the state. This is the purpose of the "naming names" bill, of the preventive detention bill, and of the use of the CIA for domestic security. The Grand Jury and these "new" laws must be opposed and the principled and progressive stance of total non-collaboration upheld.

The U.S. has always attempted to criminalize the revolutionary forces, to call them terrorists. We who are progressive, radical, or anti-imperialist white people can do nothing less than recognize that these comrades in the BLA and the RATF are struggling against a calculated war being waged from the highest levels of the U.S. government. To collaborate with this war in any way only gives support to the white supremacist and fascist elements in this country that would crush any and all existing dissent. Defending these freedom fighters is part of building solidarity with the Black Nation's struggle for land and independence and is a very concrete part of fighting the growth of fascism in the U.S.

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The U.S. government is an illegitimate government that has no jurisdiction over the colonized Black Nation, its liberation forces, or allies who are participating in a just war for national liberation. We oppose the use of counter-intelligence, torture and grand juries by the U.S. government.

We support all prisoners of war who are captured in the course of waging revolutionary armed struggle against U.S. Imperialism and we support all political prisoners who are imprisoned and attacked because of their stance in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

We welcome the formation of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, which includes white revolutionary anti-imperialists working under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army. By their actions, they have shown the highest form of solidarity and internationalism. It is the role of progressive, anti-imperialist white people to support and defend freedom fighters and build a fighting movement under the leadership of the national liberation struggles.

The attempted expropriation on October 20th in Nyack, New York, by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force was a revolutionary act. Resistance to colonialism and fascism is the right of all oppressed people and never premature. The combatants are freedom fighters, not terrorists. We offer them our unconditional support.

FROM THE PENTAGON TO THE PRECINCT—STOP KILLER COPS!

A CAMPAIGN IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THIRD WORLD PEOPLES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Blue by Day/White by Night is a reality. The Klan and the police have always been united in their function, and now they are becoming increasingly united in their memberships. Their unity has been exposed by the forces who have had the most experience fighting them. When the United League of Mississippi marched against the Klan on November 25, 1978, Mississippi policemen in Klan robes appeared on national television. It was also revealed that applications for the Klan are distributed at police headquarters in Tupelo, Mississippi. In Jackson, Mississippi, Meriden, Connecticut, and Nashville, Tennessee, the Klan has demonstrated to support killer cops who have murdered Black people. And all across the country, the police protect the Klan. Police forces are a primary recruiting ground for the Klan. Cops are filling the ranks of the Klan and other white supremacist organizations and are becoming more and more open about it. In Bowling Green, Kentucky, for example, the public relations man for the police has been seen distributing Klan literature in his police uniform. In Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Klansmen on the police force wear white supremacy medallions. In Texas, the Klan brags about its members on the Houston, Galveston, and Fort Worth police forces. Michael Perdue, a member of the band of mercenaries who attempted to take over the island of Dominica, revealed that the group obtained Uzi sub-machine guns and other weapons from the police. The mercenary band included Klansmen, Nazis, and policemen. As the memberships of the police and the Klan continue to merge, their ability to enact a united strategy of enforcement white supremacy and genocide increases. That is why we say: Get the Klan out of the Police! Stop white supremacist armies!

Any policeman who wears a badge and a gun has a license to kill Third World people. Police associations, which are a major power base for the police, consistently promote and defend these repressive and terroristic acts. They are highly financed, armed, white supremacist organizations trying to pretend that they are labor unions.

The "shoot first, shoot to kill" policy of the NYPD is a direct result of the efforts of the Police Benevolent Association. With heavy financial backing from major corporations such as Exxon, the association push for sophisticated weapons and training and for harsh "anti-crime" laws such as the reinstitution of death penalty and lengthy mandatory sentences for crimes involving weapons. As a result of their efforts, many police departments now carry shotguns and use .357 magnums or .45's instead of .38's. In Texas, police and sheriff's associations were recently successful in legalizing the carrying of handguns by "off-duty" officers. Police associations are the first to defend policemen accused of brutality or murder. If a policeman happens to be suspended, the police association raises funds to support him and pay for his legal defense, but if someone kills a cop, they mobilize a national manhunt. In every issue of its newspaper, "Front and Center," the New York PBA organizes against Black revolutionaries and political activists. They organize police to attend political trials and bring pressure to bear at the highest levels of city and state government. The police associations are nothing more or less than the public mass face of fas-

cism. That is why Black organizations say, "The PBA is the KKK," and why we demand no shoot to kill orders! Smash the police associations!

The police could not carry out their role in imperialism's strategy of genocide without mass support from white people. From the suburbs to women's and gay communities, this support is being built by organizing people—especially white people—to cooperate with the police. In many cities it is hard to find a white neighborhood without a big "eye" advertising a neighborhood watch.

"Support your local police" is the rallying cry of the racist right, and on that basis an increasingly fascist police state is being built. Crimestoppers—Taxis on Patrol—City Employees' Crime Watch—Monitor 9. These are just a few of the programs which organize people to be the "eyes and ears" of the police—the infrastructure of a police state. And still other programs, such as SCAN (Slope Citizens' Anti-Crime Network, Brooklyn, New York) are out-right vigilante patrols. Many of these programs were started with LEAA money and are coordinated by state councils. In addition, many states are expanding their "volunteer" police forces. Nearly every major city has its "citizen cops," and, increasingly, state legislatures are supplying these "reserves" with money and arms. This is one of the ways that the State is arming white supremacist forces.

Local businessmen, newspapers, and TV stations co-sponsor citizen snitch programs and whip up racist, anti-crime hysteria. And many white people are making decisions to support the police because they are afraid of being raped, mugged, or held-up.

The police do not protect us from crime. They do not stop murder. They commit 4 to 7% of all the homicides in the country. They do not stop rape. They rape and sexually abuse women. The resistance of women such as Joann Little has exposed the fact that rape by the police is an ever-present reality for Third World women. And white women are not immune to sexual assault by the police either. The recently publicized practice of the Chicago police of stripsearching women is a good example of the kind of treatment that women can increasingly expect from the police. The police do not keep women from getting beaten up by their husbands or boyfriends. They are more likely to sympathize with a man who is beating his wife. Women cannot rely on the police for protection. If we call them, they are more likely to harm us than help us. The police do not stop property crimes. They run huge fencing operations and profit from the drug trade in Third World communities. They are death dealers. Crime exists because imperialism exists, and the police are major perpetrators of crime.

As imperialism declines, it must extract more profit from white working class people, and in order to do this, tighter police controls are necessary. Increasingly, police protection is denied to all white people who are not 100% mainstream Amerikkkan—by condition or by choice. If you are poor, a working woman, a lesbian, an anti-racist, or someone who goes against the system in any way, the police are likely to see you as someone to control rather than protect. It is not in any of our interests to support the police. If we cooperate with them, we are helping to build a police state—which we will have to live in. Don't cooperate with the police. They protect imperialism and white rights by repressing Third World communities. They are the enemies of all people who refuse to be victims or accomplices in imperialism's strategy of genocide. Stop white vigilantism! Don't work with the police!

The police are killers. The murders that they commit are systematic. Not one killer cop has even been convicted of murder and most are not even indicted. In 1970, the federal government did a study which showed that of 1500 homicides committed by the police, 600 were "clearly not justified" and 300 were "questionable." Of these 900 admitted murders, 15 cops were tried and only 3 were convicted—all of lesser charges.

If these policemen were only a "few bad apples," the rest of their buddies on the police force would be holding demonstrations to demand that the irresponsible elements be purged from their ranks. The courts would put these killers away for life instead of letting them off scot-free. The mayors of our cities would demand that justice be done instead of putting these killer cops back on the streets with their badges, their guns, and their \$20,000 salaries.

But the murders that killer cops commit are not the actions of a few irresponsible cops. The police are doing their job—which is to occupy Third World communities and repress the struggles for liberation which are the most fundamental threat to imperialism. Third World people will never have their basic human rights as long as killer cops are walking the streets. That is why we are building a movement that supports all means of bringing killer cops to justice. Bring killer cops to justice! Get killer cops off the streets!

Miami killer cops Diggs, Evans, Watts, Marrero, and Veverka, along with other police, beat Arthur McDuffie to death. December 17, 1979.

Los Angeles pigs Edward M. Hopson and Lloyd W. O'Callaghoun shot Eula Love eight times in her own yard after she refused to let a gas serviceman turn off her gas because of a \$22.09 delinquent bill. January 3, 1979.

New York Lieutenant Arthur Dallas murdered 48-year-old James Robertson who allegedly had a toy gun in the South Bronx.

Jackson, Mississippi policeman Gary King shot Dorothy Brown, a pregnant Black woman to death. The Klan demonstrated in support of the police. August 26, 1980.

Philadelphia killer cop John "Rabid Dog" Ziegler, 34, handcuffed, pistol-whipped, then shot William Green, a seventeen-year-old Black youth, for a traffic violation in Philadelphia. August 26, 1980.

New York policeman Kevin Durkin killed Manuel Martinez and Domingo Morales. February 21, 1979.

Brooklyn killer cops beat Luis Baez and shot him 21 times, claiming that he was going to stab them with a pair of children's scissors. August 22, 1979.

Houston pigs Joseph Janish, Steven Orlando, Terry Denson, Carless Elliott, Glen Brinkmeyer, and Lewis Kinney beat Jose Campos Torres, handcuffed his hands and feet, and threw him into Buffalo Bayou. May 5, 1977.

New York City police Robert Payne and Fletcher Allison murdered 21-year-old Harold Tilley and wounded 22-year-old Robert Johnson. March 2, 1981.

New Orleans police Ronald Brink, Robert Lambert, Sam Gebbia, Louis Dabdoub, Warren Keller, Steven Gaudet, Melvin Gerrets, and Oris Buckner went on a shooting rampage in the Algiers Fischer Housing Project, killing James Billy, Reginald Miles, and Shery Singleton. November 13, 1980. Oris Buckner had formerly set up the attack on the RNA headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi, resulting in the imprisonment of the RNA-11.

Nashville Lt. Fred Cobb fired a shotgun blast into an East Nashville motel, killing Linda Louise Sumner on February 5, 1981.

New York killer cops Thomas Ryan beat 25-year-old Israel Rodriguez after arresting him for burglary. Ryan was convicted of criminally negligent homicide, then jumped bail and was a fugitive for two years. He turned himself in March, 1981.

Chicago pigs Louis Kliz, Fred Christiano, and Fred Earullo beat a partially lame 51-year-old Black man, Richard Ramey, to death on an El train for smoking a cigarette, July 6, 1980.

Austin killer cop Daniel Pena, after harrassing and threatening Vicente Trujillo several times, shot him in the back, killing him. February 29, 1980.

New York policemen Richard Agrillo and Reese Thomas Fox, both in plain clothes and off-duty, shot and killed Chino Mendez. February 10, 1981.

Baltimore cop Stephen McCown shot Ja Wan McGee, a 17-year-old Black youth, 3 times in the back paralyzing him from the waist down. March 20, 1980.

New York City pig Thomas Shea murdered 10-year-old Clifford Glover, shooting him in the back, May 3, 1973.

Dallas pig Darrel L. Cain shot Santos Rodriguez, 11, in the head with a .357 magnum after playing Russian roulette with him. July 24, 1973. Three years earlier, Cain had killed a Black man, Michael Morehead.

Boston cop Richard Borque killed Levi Hart, a 14-year-old Black youth. July 15, 1980.

Denver police John O'Dell, Gary Graham, and David Neil killed Arthur Espinoza and James Hinojosa in Mestizo Park in front of 200 witnesses. July 30, 1977.

San Antonio Killer cop James Cammack killed Hector Santoscoy after trapping him beneath a house. Christmas Day, 1980. Ten years earlier, Cammack had killed Black youth, Bobby Jo Phillips.

Washington, D.C. police Robert L. Lanham, Adrian James, and John Banaccoray hunted down, ambused, and murdered Bruce Wazan Griffith, 27, a Black man, February 14, 1980.

New York pigs Richard Cava and Stuart Minsky killed grocery store owner Manuel Hernandez and alleged robbery suspect Angelo Fontanez in East Harlem. February 12, 1981.

Mexia, Texas pigs Kenny Elliot, Kenneth Archie, and David Drummond drowned 3 Black teenagers Steve Booker, Carl Baker, and Anthony Freeman at Comanche Crossing on June tenth, 1981.

Albuquerque police James Babich beat Andrew Ramirez to death in his own home. November 10, 1977.

Prince Georges County, Maryland, Peter Morgan shot a 32-year-old Black man for shoplifting a ham. Christmas Eve. 1980.

Houston pigs R.B. Valentine, C.A. McClelland, B.G. Gonzales, and M.D. Fann, shot and killed Arthur James Hood in Houston. Valentine had killed John Gomez in September, 1980. On June 19, 1981, Valentine fired into a carload of young men.

Arlington, Virginia Sgt. Walter Blakenship and Cpl. Kenneth Madden shot and murdered Stanley Hughes, Black, 21, while he had his hands up. June 10, 1980.

Pellman Manor, New York killer cop John Robbins murdered Emery Robinson, a Black youth, by shooting him in the back. June 19, 1979. Queens, New York, detective Holden of the 114th precinct shot Johnny Davis in the head at close range. November 23, 1979.

Austin killer cops Claude Hooker and Dunny Donovan 2 off-duty cops, strangled a Black man, Gril Couch to death. August 1, 1979.

New York police officer John McNulty murdered white Adelphi University student Edwards Fonseca on campus on Long Island, New York, when Fonseca went to the defense of a Palestinian student who was being beaten by McNulty.

New York killer cop Fratangelo murdered Jose Scrano in Brooklyn, New York. September 20, 1981.

New York policewoman Carol Esserman murdered 42-year-old Black man, Robert Greene, in the Bronx, shooting him in the back. This was the first time a woman pig was involved in a murder in New York City. April, 1981.

New York killer cops Susan Medicis and Jose Sanchez murdered a 30-year-old Black man in Brooklyn. April 11, 1981.

Milwaukee policemen James Dekker, George Kalt, and Thomas Eliopol beat Ernie Lacy to death in a van. August 9, 1981.

The fascist build-up, which is essential in order to carry out genocide, is happening at an incredibly rapid pace. As the U.S. army and air force strengthen their capacity for intervention in the Third World, the police and the Klan build up their military capacity for repression of human rights struggles in the U.S.

Both internationally and domestically, police forces are being trained to wage counter-insurgency warfare. This training is directed from the highest levels of the U.S. government. The CIA is active in the International Association of Chiefs of Police, an organization of 11,000 top level federal, state, and local police from 63 countries.

The CIA, functioning through the Agency for International Development (AID) Office of Public Safety, has trained and equipped over a million police from around the world in counter-insurgency warfare. The International Police Academy, run by the Office of Public Safety, trained 5,000 high-ranking police officials from the fascist countries in advanced torture and assault techniques, until public exposure by Third World revolutionaries and international pressure forced its closing.

In the U.S., the FBI is training local police at the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia. SWAT teams receive their counter-insurgency training here. In addition, SWAT teams receive much of their instruction from mercenaries who are trained and placed in the teams by the CIA. These SWAT teams are commando units whose primary purpose is to wage war against revolutionary forces in this country.

Today, we are seeing increased centralization of police activities and closer working relationship between local, state, federal, and international police. It was the LEAA that funded and planned for the spread of SWAT teams, intelligence units, riot training, national crime computer indexes, and increased military equipment for local police departments. Now that LEAA funding has been replaced by block grants, these firmly established programs will be more heavily financed and be under increasing right-wing control. Now, every major city police department in the U.S. is reconsolidating its Red Squad with the help of the FBI. Every major city has its commando unit or SWAT team. Special fugitive-terrorist squads of FBI and local police have been developed in some big cities. Special federal police cooperate with local police. On Indian reservations, the BIA police are especially vicious, and in Chicano/Mexicano communities, La Migra (the INS police) leads raids for "illegal aliens."

It is imperialism's police forces who are the international terrorists, and the only way to stop international police terror is to ally with the national liberation struggles that are defeating the killer cops of the world. We cannot say that we support struggles for human rights and self-determination unless we support the freedom fighters who are leading these struggles.

We support SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) in Namibia, the FLNC (Congolese National Liberation Front) in the Congo, and the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) in Palestine. We support the armed clandestine forces of the Puerto Rican independence movement. We support Assata Shakur and the Black Liberation Army. The attack by the Red Unit on the New York police represents a determination to end police terror by speaking to the police in the only lan-

guage that they understand. The Black revolutionaries who are taking up arms against the police are demonstrating the highest form of commitment and dedication to the liberation of their people.

The U.S. government has responded to freedom fighters by urging an all-out war against them. Leaders of liberation struggles who have resisted the genocide of their people are being held as prisoners-of-war. We call on the U.S. government to free the 25 BLA prisoners-of-war, all the Puerto Rican prisoners-of-war, and Leonard Peltier and all Native American prisoners-of-war.

One of the reasons that the U.S. has been able to kill and imprison freedom fighters is that the white left has collaborated in labelling them "mad-dogs," "criminals," and "terrorists." It is our job to reverse this history. We cannot turn our backs on the very people who are fighting the hardest to defeat the oppressive and exploitative system of imperialism. Stop international police terror! Support freedom fighters!

We urge you to join us in our campaign to stop killer cops, a campaign which is taken up under the leadership of Black revolutionary nationalist forces. These forces, who are fighting for land and independence, have made it crystal clear that the fight against the police is a critical part of an overall offensive strategy to win liberation. The struggle of the Black nation, along with Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano struggles for land and self-determination, will defeat imperialism, and these struggles can only be won by fighting the forces that oppose them at every step of the way—the police and the Ku Klux Klan. Millions of Third World people in this country are engaged in basic human rights struggles against the police. They are fighting their enemy. And their enemy is our enemy. We do not live in a different world or a different time than Third World people do. We live in the same decade, on the same continent, in the same world system. And the same war is going on all around us. We call on all white people to make a strong stand on the side of Third World people in their struggles for human rights and self-determination and to oppose imperialism and its police forces by fighting white supremacy.

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee is building a mass movement among white people to fight white supremacy. Our most immediate task is to join the fight to stop killer cops, a movement of white people that is committed to the defeat of the police and the Klan can have a powerful impact on imperialism's ability to carry out genocide. We can weaken imperialism's armies and limit their ability to attack national liberation struggles. Participating in this campaign against killer cops is the most direct way that we can fight against fascism and play a part in destroying imperialism. You can participate by:

1. Fighting white supremacy.
2. Refusing to work with or support the police.
3. Disrupting and organizing against white vigilantism.
4. Circulating petitions to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.
5. Supporting Third World peoples' struggles against killer cops in every local community.
6. Raising the demands of this campaign through local actions.
7. Contributing money to the Black liberation struggle.
8. Joining the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee.

With these words, the Red Unit of the Black Liberation Army took responsibility for attacking a New York City policeman in retaliation for the capture of James Dixon York, who had been the object of a vicious manhunt. The BLA set new terms for the war that rages in Amerikkka: attacks on the revolutionary forces of the Black liberation movement would not go unanswered. The action was a declaration that killer cops will not get away with inflicting white supremacist terror on Black people. They will not be allowed to carry out a war of genocide against the Black nation.

Last July 18, on New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Day, a march and rally was held in Harlem to honor the Black Liberation Army and Assata Shakur. This demonstration was a call to uphold the right to armed self-defense of the Black community and to support the strategy of people's war. It's a war for the basic human rights that Black people have struggled for 400 years. It's a war for self-determination, the right of the Black nation to determine its own destiny. It's a war for land and independence. There is no way to defeat imperialism without fighting its white supremacist armies. And the first line of the armed forces which must be fought and defeated in this war for liberation are the police and the Ku Klux Klan. The victory of the Black liberation struggle, along with the victories of the Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano struggles will bring the final destruction of imperialism and white supremacy.

The struggle against killer cops is one of the most basic human rights struggles being waged today. In the last year alone, millions of Third World people have taken to the streets to demand an end to police terror. The decade was only a few months old when Black Miami rebelled, making it impossible for the world to ignore the murder of Arthur McDuffie and the reality of police terror. In Milwaukee, 18,000 people demonstrated against the murder of Ernest Lacy. "People feel the police are at war with the Black community," said one of the march organizers. "The police to me is an army in itself. It's not any more a police department. It's a repressive force that was organized by local and federal government to control, and not protest." Stop killer cops is the mass demand of Third World people all across this country. When demonstrators in every Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano-Mexicano, and Native American community in this country demand "Stop Killer Cops!" and chant "We Charge Genocide," they are saying in unmistakable terms that the police are the enemy who must be opposed.

U.S. imperialism is in a war of survival to maintain itself in the face of victorious and fighting national liberation struggles all over the world. Imperialism's strategy to defend itself and defeat nations fighting for independence and freedom is naked genocide whether it's South Africa's white settlerism, Zionist Israel's bombing of Beirut, or Amerika's killer cops murdering Third World youth. Their plan is the outright destruction of whole nations and national liberation struggles.

From the pentagon to the precinct, imperialism's armies are enforcing a strategy of genocide against Third World people. Their justification is "fighting terrorism." General Haig has declared war against international terrorism. The CIA recruits and trains mercenaries to fight against liberation forces in Africa, Palestine, Latin America, and the United States. They place mercenaries in police SWAT teams and Ku Klux Klan military camps to train these forces for counter-insurgency warfare here in the U.S. The police operate within the state apparatus just as the Klan operates outside of it, defending U.S. imperialism and supremacy. In New Orleans, Mayor Morial has called for war against the "terrorists" who are mugging tourists in the French Quarter, giving the green light for the New Orleans police—which is 70% white and ranks #1 in police brutality in the U.S.—to continue and heighten the violence against the majority Black population in the capitol city of the Black nation.

U.S. imperialism could not implement its genocidal policies of forced sterilization, unemployment, drug addiction, mis-education, urban removal, environmental destruction, and land rip-offs against Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano people without having armed forces in every Third World community in this country. In the Cabrini Green Housing Project in Chicago, police forces are attacking and forcibly removing Black people in an effort to destroy the long-term base for resistance and make the city white again. Atlanta police joined in the attack on the Black community when in the "search" for the killers of over 35 Black children and young men, the police put the Black community under curfew, and attacked and disarmed the Black community's self-defense patrols.

In the past 15 years, the police have been the major perpetrators of white supremacist terror. By the government's own statistics, the police murdered 2,000 Third World people in the last five years alone. These are war-time statistics—comparable to the number of people killed in the war in Ireland during the last 10 years. In Los Angeles alone, the police killed 40 Third World youth in 1980. The Justice Department says that for every white person killed by the police, 22 Black people are killed. Lynchings are the order of the day in Amerikkka, and the police are the executioners.

Imperialism is moving very fast to carry out its international mobilization of fascist forces. Anti-crime hysteria is being whipped up in an effort to enlist every white man, woman, and child as supporters of the police—the backbone of the police state. This is a critical time for white people to join Third World people in the fight against killer cops.

When white people take up the fight against killer cops, we are taking sides in a fundamental struggle for power. We are standing on the side of the Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Chicano/Mexicano liberation struggles—the leading forces for revolutionary change. They provide clear leadership and a winning strategy. Stopping killer cops is part of that strategy. The police are the protectors of imperialism and white supremacy. The police are our enemy. The only solution they offer us is fascism. The fight against them is a fight for our own liberation.

STOP KILLER COPS CAMPAIGN

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee is launching a campaign against killer cops. We are pressing the following demands everywhere we are located: Get the Klan out of the police! Stop white supremacist armies! No shoot to kill orders! Smash the police associations! Stop white vigilantism! Don't cooperate with the police! Get killer cops off the streets! Bring killer cops to justice! Stop international police terror! Support freedom fighters!

Material support is a critical part of building solidarity with the leading forces in the fight against killer cops. We want to raise money for the Black liberation struggle as a way to counter the financial support that the police are soliciting from the community. Therefore, we are raising \$5,000 for the Committee to Honor New African Freedom Fighters.

We are also gathering 25,000 signatures on a petition that will be presented to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations condemning violations of human rights perpetrated by the police. Charges of human rights violations have also been made in petitions that Black people presented to the United Nations in 1951 and 1979. Native American nations have appeared before the United Nations numerous times in an attempt to bring international pressure to bear against U.S. violations of Native sovereignty. They have told the U.N. that police forces are guilty of acts of aggression and terror against Native people in an attempt to deny them treaty rights, land, and sovereignty. In 1979, the Chicano/Mexicano and Puerto Rican people also went to the United Nations to charge the police with violations of their human rights. The petition that the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee is circulating will be presented in support of struggles for human rights of oppressed nations, within the borders of the U.S.

CONSCIOUSNESS AND WILL ARE OUR GREATEST WEAPONS

(The Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters is printing the following excerpts from a letter sent by Judy Clark, one of the Oct. 20th Freedom Fighters and a member of the Revolutionary Armed Task Force under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army, to a comrade on the outside. We are printing this letter because we believe that Judy and the other Freedom Fighters who are resisting the state's line-ups and other "legal proceedings" attacking revolutionary forces, offers us clear leadership in what it means to resist U.S. imperialism; and how a movement can be built that will resist by fighting to defeat imperialism. We want to express our unconditional support and solidarity with all revolutionary freedom fighters waging war in Amerika—those behind bars, and those in the field.—JUDY CLARK.

... We just came back from our battles over the line-ups. Interesting. I could not say that we completely succeeded in nullifying them, but we definitely resisted and thus exposed them as forces. And I learned some stuff, of course let me tell you about it. We got taken to Rockland County jail in the middle of the night, on Monday—the line ups were scheduled for Tuesday evening. I was as always, put in isolation in a cell block that is cleared of the women who usually live there; with a guard specially stationed to watch me every minute. No books, no papers, with 12 hours to hang out and wait for this scene to happen. So I exercise—many sets of push-ups, sit-ups, leg-lifts, stretches, pacing through the day. Finally at 6 in the evening, Tip (her lawyer) comes, with Judy H., and tells me that they are doing David that night and me the next—what a bummer—I feel the adrenalin swoosh out of me—more waiting. There is a certain irony in it though—since the next day is May 19, and also the day of the grand jury—so thinking of it.

The next day of waiting was easier. At 5 that evening Tip came and we talked for an hour. I found out more what happened with David; and about court that day, etc. At 6, they had her leave; strip-searched me and came to get me. I refused to go, was half lifted, half dragged to the elevator, where I was shackled hands and legs. At first I was more just not cooperating; then it became more resisting. By the time the "legal formalities" were over and I was dragged into the line-up room, it was a fight—uneven, to say the least. Their strategy was to use overwhelming force to enforce their position, not to particularly beat up—but to use the ropes, chains, neck-brace to tie me up such that I was completely immobilized, unable to breathe, in pain, with my limbs going numb—and leave me there for an hour or two to break down my will and stamina. My strategy was to use the only thing. I had—I screamed, yelled, threatened. It was definitely a fact that the prolonged discomfort and pain was much harder than being kicked around or punched—I was most worried about the fact that was cut off; my hand was numb and swollen in five minutes

and I didn't know how long it would take till that could have more permanent, damaging effect. I did two things—I made myself stop thinking about my body and I visualized Haydee in court that time and thought about what Ashcaf says about even when the enemy has the physical advantage, that we must exert our moral advantage.

I started to scream, "I want my lawyer informed that you have deliberately cut off my circulation and breathing and that my hand is numb," etc., etc. I figured either they would get uptight and do something; or at least that my yelling gave me more strength and sense of resistance. Finally, they came in, poked my hand which had indeed lost all sensation, and finally loosened one rope around it, tightening the others. I had forced them to relent, rather than them giving my anything, so that made me feel stronger to keep it up.

* * * * *

w..... Idl been tied upg.. an hour. Finally themen were brought in..... they setting getses (you can't actually see what's happening on the other side of the wall), I turned my head to the side (the only way I could still move), made faces, etc. The pigs come back and brought more of them—one guy went behind each of us and then the one behind me grabbed my head, forcing it forward and pressing pressure points below my ears. I started screaming; he pressed harder; I screamed louder . . . we kept this up for a while, everyone more and more freaked.

Then the d.a. came in to say to take a break. One of the women on the line-up started to faint. After awhile we re-commenced; only this time when I started screaming and making faces, the pig choked me. My scream became a gurgle; but I kept it up and he kept choking me till I started to pass out; he loosened; I revived and started screaming and we did that round a couple more times. After that it was basically over, except for a few kicks and shoves. Tip said the witnesses were completely freaked out of course they still identified me. Anyway, I would love to find out more about Haydee's how she usually stopped the line-up. But it was good to have some confrontation. I came out of it feeling stronger and more combative and understanding more wher our strength comes from. And hopefully it can contribute to the fight for non-collaboration, which is obviously on-going and fierce in this case.

It's so strange being here—in the country—I have watched the seasons flow through the window, each day. This incredibly beautiful, subtle unfolding of spring; as the winter snows melted; first unlocking the flow of the creeks; then the greening of the fields; then the trees. Incredible beauty, right outside these concentration camp walls—so close to the season, yet so far. . . .

My visit is here so I will end for now. One other thing that I realized from the line-up was that whatever power I had in that situation came from really struggling to think and be conscious; not panic and react. It was another lesson in how much consciousness and will are our * * * .

ANATOMY OF A TRAITOR

[From the Freedom Fighters]

Resistance welcomes this analysis by the Rockland Prisoners of war and freedom fighters of the act of treason by Solomon Brown against the New Afrikan Independence Movement. They argue that ideological consolidation and revolutionary character are critical to revolutionaries' ability to maintain principles and courage in the face of the state's repression. Conversely, weakness in these areas or the downplaying of their importance has helped to create a situation which has produced six traitors and informants. We print this to open debate in the movement about these issues.

INTRODUCTION

Samuel Brown has cemented his collaboration with U.S. imperialism by volunteering to testify to the RICO grand jury. He is a traitor to the New Afrikan Independence Movement and must be treated as such. His turning traitor results from a process that must be understood and analyzed.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and draw lessons from the way that state moved against S.B., his response to that, the practice of the movement, and to do self-criticism related to this process. The analysis of Sol opened up discussion about the entire situation: why have there been numerous traitors, what were the political

errors and weaknesses which have resulted in the political and military defeat itself and which are seen in various political difficulties of the past year.

THE FACTS AS WE KNOW THEM

Samuel Brown (SB) was captured after the attempted expropriation of a Brinks truck on October 20, 1981 by the RATF. As soon as he was captured, he was separated out and given different treatment from the white combatants. He was systematically beaten by police and by guards at Rockland County Jail, which resulted in a broken neck.

His response to the beatings according to SB himself (in moments of lucidity) was to become concerned with fear and terror, pleading with the pigs to stop beating him and proclaiming his innocence. This, of course, had the effect of encouraging the state to continue to beat and attack him, because he revealed his vulnerabilities. He responded to their threats. For example, he allowed the guards to intimidate him from coming up to his first legal meeting.

From October 21, it was clear that he was incoherent and terrorized. When lawyers raised his conditions in court on October 23, the pig judge refused to acknowledge that he was injured thus putting the stamp of approval on the torture. The court has played a central part of the state's political/military counter-insurgency attacks against revolutionary forces and then supported it—justifying and covering up the use of torture, blocking access to lawyers and medical care—while trying to hid behind the veneer of bourgeois legality. Given the formidable obstacles posed by the enemy, movement forces did not move aggressively enough to intervene to stop the beatings and secure him. An immediate political campaign was needed.

By the time he was at FCI (Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville) he was in continuous pain, heavily drugged and physically isolated, with access to lawyers and others purposely hampered by the pigs and court. But more than his body was broken, his consciousness, spirit and will were broken. Thus, from the time the FBI Terrorist Task Force questioned him he was willing to talk.

DEFEND THE OCTOBER 20TH FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

On September 13, 1982, 11 years after the Attica rebellion and 150 years after the slave rebellion led by Nat Turner, the National Committee to Defend New Afrikan Freedom Fighters and the Coalition to Defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters will demonstrate at the Rockland County Courthouse in support of the October 20th Freedom Fighters as pre-trial hearings begin. On October 20th, 1981, the Revolutionary Armed Task Force, under the leadership of the Black Liberation Army, attempted to expropriate \$1.6 million from an armored Brinks truck. This was a revolutionary act intended to take back the smallest portion of money stolen from the labor of Black and other oppressed and exploited people. It was not the first, nor will it be the last such expropriation.

Money is needed to finance programs in the Black community to meet basic human needs, such as day care, schools, and self-defense units. The programs are part of a long-term process to build the Black Nation and the armed clandestine movement which leads the development towards People's War for land and independence of the Black Nation (New Afrika). Freeing the land of New Afrika (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina) is the only way Black people will win the right to self-determination and end the denial of basic human rights. When a Nation controls its land, it gains the political power necessary to control the institutions which govern people's lives and to defend the Nation against oppression. The struggle to free the land is a struggle to win independence for the Black Nation and to build socialism.

The New Afrikan Freedom Fighters grow out of a 400 year history of resistance and insurrection by the Black Nation, as represented by the Attica uprising in 1971 and the slave rebellion led by Nat Turner in 1831. The struggle today is to transform this strategy into People's War by the use of armed military actions and by developing an armed clandestine organization. The attempted expropriation on October 20th represents a strategic, political advance for the revolutionary struggle to win land and independence for the Black Nation. It reaffirmed the growth and development of the armed clandestine forces of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It also established that white anti-imperialists are struggling to be full allies as they take on the highest level of solidarity by fighting as combatants on the front lines. This solidarity flows from an identification of a common enemy and a strategic alliance to defeat that enemy.

The period since October 20th has been a time to draw the lessons of this period, to build the underground railroad and the armed clandestine movement, to deepen our understanding of revolutionary principles, and to build an anti-imperialist movement to protect and defend the freedom fighters. It has also been a time of growing strategic alliances between the national liberation movements of the Puerto Rican, Chicano/Mexicano, and New Afrikan peoples based in support for the armed clandestine movements. Ultimately, it is the strategy that will liberate oppressed nations inside the U.S. borders and defeat U.S. imperialism, also the enemy of the white working class.

The captured combatants have led the struggle for total non-collaboration with the state's attempts to gather information by resisting the line-ups and the taking of hair and handwriting samples. New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Sekou Odinga resisted the torture and beatings which left his pancreas destroyed. This has provided the leadership for the uncompromising stand of non-collaboration with the RICO (Racketeering Influence and Corrupt Organization) grand jury. Each grand jury resister has added to the wall of silence to the state's attempt to intimidate and terrorize people who support the New Afrikan Independence Movement and the Black Liberation Army.

Because U.S. imperialism is in decline it has now become more fascist in character, and thus we see the emergence of the Joint Terrorist Task Force of the FBI and NYPD. The purpose of the Terrorist Task Force is to destroy the armed clandestine movements. It is responsible for the murder of New Afrikan Freedom Fighter Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata, the torture of New Afrikan Freedom Fighters Sekou Odinga and Solomon Brown, for the military assault on a rural Mississippi farmhouse, and for the predawn raid on the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association of North America (BAAANA), among other terrorist acts. The Terrorist Task Force draws on the experience and information gained from 15 years of counter-intelligence against the Black Liberation Movement and the anti-imperialist movement. Through electronic surveillance, the state was able to identify Peter Middleton, prey on his fear of the state, his personal greed and his drug habit to get him to turn traitor to the Black Nation. However, in spite of all his so-called "testimony" and the millions of dollars the Terrorist Task Force has spent, it has not been able to capture a single freedom fighter since. This is a testament to the strength and development of the New Afrikan underground railroad.

On September 13, in Rockland County Courthouse, the state will begin a new phase in its attempt to criminalize the freedom fighters. The state will try to use the courts as a tool to maintain its hegemony by defining the expropriation as a criminal act. We cannot allow that to happen. If fighting for human rights is defined as "illegal", then we must organize for illegality. Come to the Rockland County Courthouse on September 13th to support and defend the October 20th Freedom Fighters.

Mr. GRIBETZ. May I just add one particular point, if I may, Mr. Chairman? Again, in that particular instance where I indicated to you that we had made a motion, this was the case of Nathaniel Burns, to dismiss the indictment in favor of the Federal prosecution, our end goal was to see that justice was done and the maximum number of individuals were convicted.

I would like to just point out that in the affirmation submitted to the court by the U.S. attorney, he stated in that particular affirmation. From the outset, I have taken the position that the State prosecution of the participants in these crimes should proceed before any related Federal prosecution, except where the likelihood of conviction would be significantly greater in the Federal court.

That was stated in an affirmation that was given to the court. Additionally, as I indicated to you, the source of dispute that we had concerned this particular individual Samuel Brown, who was ultimately convicted and sentenced to some 75 years to life.

Mr. HALL. Make that affirmation a part of the record.

Mr. GRIBETZ. This is marked up. We will submit a subsequent copy.

[Information referred to follows:]

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK COUNTY OF ROCKLAND

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, PLAINTIFF, AGAINST NATHANIEL BURNS, DEFENDANT.

John S. Martin, Jr., an attorney duly admitted to practice law in the Courts of the State of New York, affirms:

1. I am the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York and submit this affirmation in support of the motion of the District Attorney of Rockland County to dismiss the indictment against Nathaniel Burns.

2. The October 20, 1981 robbery of the Brinks truck in Rockland County and the related killing of Peter Paige, Waverly Brown and Edward O'Grady constituted violations of both state and federal laws. Since shortly after these crimes were committed, I have maintained regular contact with Kenneth Gribetz, the District Attorney of Rockland County, in order to ensure that the separate state and federal investigation would best serve the interests of justice. From the outset I have taken the position that the state prosecution of the participants in these crimes should proceed before any related federal prosecution, except where the likelihood of conviction would be significantly greater in the federal court.

3. Shortly after the original state indictment in this case was filed, the federal government began to receive information relating to these crimes from a confidential source. We did not share this information with the state officials because principles of state law might prohibit the state from utilizing information from this source. Ultimately, the information from this source was used as the basis for court ordered electronic surveillance of certain individuals who were also involved in the October 20th crimes. As a result of the electronic surveillance, other leads were obtained and additional informants were developed. In order to ensure that no claims of taint could legitimately be made in the state proceeding, I have not shared with Mr. Gribetz all of the information developed during the federal investigation which has been derived from the federal electronic surveillance. Thus, while Mr. Gribetz has disclosed to me the evidence developed in the state's investigation, he is not aware of all of the evidence that would be available in a federal prosecution.

4. The federal investigation has uncovered that the October 20th Brinks robbery in Rockland County was but one of several armed robberies organized and executed by a group of individuals and that the defendant Nathaniel Burns is one of the leaders of this group. The present federal indictment charges that this group also committed the robbery of a Purolator armored truck in the vicinity of Inwood, New York on April 22, 1980, the attempted robbery of a Purolator armored truck in the vicinity of Danbury, Connecticut on March 23, 1981, and the robbery of a Brinks armored truck in the Bronx, New York on June 2, 1981.

5. I am aware that the state's proof against the defendant Nathaniel Burns consists solely of the testimony of a limited number of individuals who observed the Brinks truck robbery and related events on October 20th. The federal government can not provide to the state any other evidence that would establish Nathaniel Burns' presence in Rockland County on October 20th. Because the present federal indictment alleges a broader conspiracy than does the pending state indictment, the federal government has available substantially more evidence to establish that Nathaniel Burns was a member of the conspiracy that carried out the October 20th Brinks robbery, as well as the other armed robberies referred to in the federal indictment. Thus, there is a much greater likelihood that Burns will be convicted on the federal charges.

6. I have discussed my assessment of the relative strengths of the state and federal cases against Burns with District Attorney Gribetz and he agrees with me that the interests of justice would best be served if Burns was prosecuted on the federal indictment. While it is true that federal double jeopardy standards would not preclude federal prosecution after a state prosecution, a delayed federal prosecution of Burns would almost inevitably mean that Burns' trial would be served from that of his codefendants in that case who are presently in custody, Edward Joseph and Cecil Ferguson. Thus, there would have to be two lengthy federal trials of the same case which would involve substantial additional expense to the government and inconvenience to all witnesses. More important, however, a substantial delay of Burns' trial on the federal indictment would decrease the chance of conviction since there is always the possibility that witnesses may become unavailable.

7. The federal bank robbery murder charge on which Burns has been indicted carries a minimum penalty of 10 years in prison and a maximum of life in prison and the two charges under the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization statute each carry a possible maximum penalty of twenty years in prison. Thus, if Burns is con-